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# Central Africa and the League of Nations

By R. C. Hawkin.

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# Central Africa and the League of Nations

By R. C. Hawkin

It should be taken as an axiom that in spite of all revolutionary change which may or may not supervene after this war, no one will ever propose to withdraw international rights which already exist. Now, the Free Trade zone in Central Africa was created by International Law, so there exist many such rights there, and I shall begin by exposing them as a basis for the development of an International State subject to the control of the League of Nations.

The story of the European occupation of Central Africa goes back to the times of Prince Henry the Navigator, a younger son of the usurper, King John I. of Portugal, by his marriage with Phillipa of Lancaster, the sister of our usurping King Henry IV.

Prince Henry was Grand Master of the Order of Christ, and his expeditions laid the foundations of Portuguese predominance and prepared the downfall of Venetian commerce: one of his proclaimed objects was to extend the Holy Religion of our Lord Jesus Christ and to bring to Him all the souls that wish to be saved, while incidentally he desired to secure help in the wars against the Mussulmans, and in consideration of these pious aspirations the Pope, in 1436, conceded to the Prince all the countries which he might discover south of Cape Bojador; furthermore, it was agreed that 20 per cent. of any trade profits should be paid to the Grand Master of the Order of Christ, so that arrangements could be made to convert the negroes.

## The Pope as International Executive.

A Papal Bull was, of course, the then recognised method of securing a title to foreign possessions. William the Conqueror ruled England by virtue of a deal with the Pope, who required Norman military aid against the German Kaisers; and England rules Ireland to-day by virtue of such a title, so we are, I suppose, under a similar obligation to teach the natives of Ireland the Christian religion.

Now there are two theories on which all these Bulls rested: One you will find enunciated by Melchizedek in the 14th chapter

of Genesis, when he arbitrated with Abraham for the King of Sodom after the great world war between four Asiatic kings and five Phenician cities for the control of the Suez trade route. The Melchizedek theory was that all property belongs to an International God, and should be held subject to the payment of tithes to an earthly trustee, who would use his influence to settle disputes between rulers. Abraham thereupon paid the tithes and agreed to accept these principles, though his Amorite allies refused to do so.

This theory, however, was not very convenient to the Pope, because it upset the doctrines of conquest on which Imperial Rome was built; so it began to be argued that the Pope had acquired his rights over territory by virtue of a cession made to the Pope by the Emperor Constantine in return for a healing of his body and forgiveness of his sins. Thus the Christian Church came to recognise the theory of conquest, which is the negation of international right.

The Portuguese, however, had to enforce their title to Africa just as we have to do in Ireland, and this would have been a much more difficult matter if it had not been for the extraordinary influence of the Christian Religion over the natives.

John II. of Portugal carried on Prince Henry's work, and in 1516 the King of Congo admitted his subjugation to Portugal. This was entirely because he was willing to do almost anything in order to secure missionaries to teach his people religion, and one native chief became himself a fanatical propagandist. The Geographical Society of Lisbon have preserved records of a vast rebellion which broke out in Congo in consequence of a proclamation favouring monogamy, including a wonderful story of the sudden appearance of a Red Cross knight on a white horse, who caused the rebels to fall into their own ambush, and left a small band of Christians masters of the situation.

### **The Papal Collapse.**

During the sixteenth century the missionary zeal of Portugal began to wane, and, after repeated failures to secure priests from Portugal, the Congolese at last applied to Spain. Philip of Spain excused himself on the ground that he was engaged in conquering England, so the Pope was applied to once more, and he decided that the Congo must in future belong to Spain, who must send the missionaries. Here, then, we again find the only international authority stepping in to decide a question of title in Central Africa. It seems also that the Pope (Sixtus V.) claimed the right to dispossess the Portuguese and to re-grant the overlordship to Spain. He was certainly not the kind of Pope to be afraid of creating a precedent, for he selected a Jew for his chief adviser, excommunicated our Queen Elizabeth, and published his own translation of the Bible. After the Reformation Protestant countries claimed the power to make grants of distant lands to chartered companies,

and during the Thirty Years' War (1616-1646) the Pope found himself unable to maintain his international status.

I am not able to say whether Portugal acquiesced in its loss of Central Africa. It seems as though she did, but probably the Congo sank back to its barbaric condition, oppressed by a neighbouring Emperor at the head of an army of women warriors, who selected their own husbands and left men to act as nurses.

Portugal had done fairly well out of the Slave Trade, but her glory was now passing. The British and Dutch East India Companies were in progress of foundation, and in 1644 the Slave Trade with Brazil was commenced, the Arabs lending a hand, and no international authority could interfere with those sea Powers who made money in this way. The conscience of England was at last aroused by the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century, followed by the democratic doctrines which swept over the world.

### **An American Theory.**

There was then no international organisation for enforcing moral laws common to humanity; but America formulated a doctrine that land in the New World could be claimed by the first white occupier.

When the slaves were freed in America very grave practical questions arose, and in 1822 a Committee in Washington raised a fund and acquired a tract of land in Upper Guinea as a refuge for freed African Negroes. A Republic was constituted called Liberia, and Great Britain acknowledged her independence. Another similar Republic called Maryland was founded by the purchase of lands near Liberia, but Maryland was afterwards, by consent, annexed to Liberia. All this naturally introduced American influence into Africa, and aroused American interest in Africa as providing a possible solution for her black problems.

A New York daily paper had, therefore, no difficulty in raising the wind for Stanley's expedition through Central Africa, and he, of course, flew the United States flag as he went.

Like Prince Henry, he combined business and philanthropy, but the United States Government understood the difference between the two, and was never under any delusion as to the danger of the philanthropic side disappearing, so she soon began to watch Europe very carefully. Her new theory began to appear, which was the basis of land law in America, viz.: that African soil belonged to any European race which chose to claim and occupy it.

King Leopold of Belgium had by means of expeditions in 1882, 1883 and 1884 secured the signatures of various native chiefs to some documents purporting to cede rights to a society called the International Association of the Congo, which had been founded

by King Leopold for the purpose of promoting the civilisation and commerce of Africa and for other humane and benevolent purposes. The Association published a declaration that a number of Free States were being established, and that the administration of the interests of the said Free States was vested in the Association, which would adopt a blue flag with a gold star in the centre. They undertook to levy no customs, to guarantee to all foreigners the right of navigation, commerce and industry, and to do all in their power to prevent the Slave Trade and to suppress slavery.

### **The World Conference of 1885.**

England promptly recognised the International Association, and King Leopold then applied to all the world to do the same. For this purpose he summoned the Berlin Conference of 1885 to consider his proposition. All nations were invited, but the Pope, to his great chagrin, was refused a place at the Conference by Bismarck.

The first question which arose when the Conference assembled was the old problem, viz., by virtue of what right could such a Conference legislate for the world, and it was then agreed that the Acts should be issued in the name of Almighty God. So once more we see the quest for a moral sanction for International Law.

America at once played the principal part, as she claimed that the Congo was discovered by an American citizen flying the Stars and Stripes. America wanted the zone to be as big as possible, and got her way.

Free Trade was guaranteed to all nations; the principle of free navigation laid down by the Congress of Vienna in respect of the Danube was adopted for the Congo and Niger rivers; a declaration relative to the neutrality of the Congo Basin was made; perfect equality of treatment for the subjects of all nations regarding navigation rights was enacted. It was further enacted that this law should be recognised as forming a part of International Law; that any Power who had not signed the Berlin Act might at any time adhere to it; and that any Power which thereafter took possession of, or assumed a protectorate over, any coast land of Africa must notify all the signatories of the Berlin Act, in order to enable them, if need be, to make good any claim of their own. Portugal, therefore, claimed a good deal by virtue of her old title, and these claims were duly recognised.

### **America Protests.**

Now, all this was to the good, but a grave difficulty arose over the neutrality clauses. Everyone was willing to bind himself to respect the neutrality of the Congo Basin, but the question arose as to what should happen if the Powers exercising rights of sovereignty or protectorates were engaged in war. How, then,

was neutrality to be enforced? Who was to do the enforcing? It was proposed that all should agree to enforce neutrality, so that Central Africa should be guaranteed neutral even if war occurred elsewhere. One Power alone stood out against this scheme, and that was America. She was estopped by the Monroe Doctrine from undertaking to use force in Africa, even to enforce peace. It is true she had proclaimed her special interest in Liberia, and had refused to allow France to proclaim a protectorate thereover; but to join the other European Powers in guaranteeing peace in Central Africa was too much for the Senate, who unhesitatingly threw over their own representative at the Conference, and dissented from his view. The clauses were whittled down and modified, but all to no purpose, and the American ratification was refused. Bismarck was furious, and made caustic comments on the inability of a democracy to conduct foreign affairs.

The fact was that the Senate was thoroughly disconcerted over the whole matter, and found itself quite out of harmony with European opinion about God and Africa. The view of the United States was formally placed on record in 1890, when the Senate was ratifying the Brussels Act regarding the Slave Trade. It was to the effect that America disclaimed any intention to indicate any interest whatsoever in the possessions or protectorates established or claimed by European Powers in Africa, or any approval of the wisdom, expediency or lawfulness thereof. This resolution was sent round to all the Powers, and certainly requires the closest attention at this moment from those who imagine Central Africa can be used as a counter in the negotiations after the war.

Evidence of the great gulf between the American and European point of view came only a few weeks afterwards, when King Leopold put the International Association of the Congo and Free States into the melting pot, and announced himself as Sovereign of the Independent State of the Congo.

### International Bureaux.

In 1890 the Brussels Conference met to deal with the Slave Trade and to limit the importation of firearms for the use of slavers and natives, and the features of the Act were the foundation of a number of International Bureaux charged with administering the Act. One was to be at Zanzibar, where the Slave Trade was well understood; this was to collect all information regarding the Slave Trade. Another was a "Liberation Office"; there were to be auxiliary offices, with an international control office, attached to the Foreign Office at Brussels, and laws were made to suppress the trade and punish the offenders.

There have also been International Acts to limit the Liquor Trade in Central Africa, and it must be admitted that to some extent these laws have been effective; but it was not the Congo Free State which carried out these reforms; it was to a great extent

England, armed with the authority acquired from these general Acts. Our ships chased the slavers off the seas, and our shippers assisted in repressing the liquor traffic and the traffic in firearms. America appealed to the Acts when chiding Belgium for ill-treating the Congo natives, but there is at present no strong executive to see that the Acts are properly enforced.

### **Imperialism ousts Internationalism.**

We note, therefore, the rise of a new theory of World Government, by which territory was granted by a World Conference, subject to certain International Laws, limiting the rights of the States so created and imposing conditions on the new governing authorities in this great area, as well as on part of the territory originally granted by the Pope. Unfortunately, however, there arose soon after the mad scramble for African territory which followed the discovery of gold in South Africa, and England, France, Belgium, and Germany all conceived ideas for acquiring African Empires. The British notion of a Cape-to-Cairo Empire was hampered by the effects of the Berlin Act, and Mr. Cecil Rhodes found his pet project held up by King Leopold, who had agreed to give France the right of pre-emption over the Congo Free State, and had made a will leaving all the property rights and privileges inherent in his Congo Sovereignty to Belgium. England and France had recently had trouble over Fashoda, and their relations were not good. Now Rhodes wanted in particular to run a telegraph wire along the Cape-to-Cairo route as the first step towards his goal; but the Kaiser was opposed to the whole project, and refused a request addressed to him by our Foreign Office for permission to cross German East Africa. In 1896 the Kaiser sent his famous telegram to Kruger, and to the ordinary diplomatist Rhodes' decision to try and square the Kaiser would doubtless have appeared to be of the wild cat order.

Inspiration came when in 1898 he visited Egypt to make certain proposals to Lord Cromer with regard to his Cape-to-Cairo scheme. The latter did not approve of Mr. Rhodes' ideas of finance, for he himself was engaged in trying to prevent speculators from exploiting Egypt; but, during a visit to the Assouan Dam on the Nile, Mr. Rhodes heard about the project for irrigating the rich plains of Bagdad by damming the Tigris and Euphrates, and he also heard of the Kaiser's celebrated visit to Syria and Jerusalem and his aspirations for a German Empire in Mesopotamia.

This idea was good enough for Rhodes, and he went straight off to Berlin, which city he reached on March 10, 1899. Next morning he sallied out to see the Kaiser at Potsdam, and the flunkies were surprised to see a travelling Englishman walk up to the Palace and offer his card, explaining in English that he wanted to see the Kaiser. They were probably still more surprised to find that the rules of precise German etiquette were all to be waived, and Cecil Rhodes was ushered into the august presence.

## The Kaiser's deal with Rhodes.

Now there is only one record in this country as to what took place, and that was an account written by Mr. Rhodes himself and handed to the then Prince of Wales (Edward VII.), who asked Mr. Rhodes for a record; but various persons heard at various times various scraps of this most irregular diplomacy.

We know that the Kaiser referred to his telegram to President Kruger, and Rhodes explained that it deflected the British resentment felt against him to the Kaiser himself, because England resented the telegram. We know that the Kaiser brought out an atlas and at first resolutely refused to allow the Cape-to-Cairo wire to cross German East Africa. We know that at last it came to something like a row, during which Rhodes suddenly accused the Kaiser of wanting Mesopotamia, and that the Kaiser retorted: "What if I do?"

It was that reply that gave Rhodes his supreme diplomatic victory. He had won, for it was the admission by a responsible Sovereign that Germany was coveting territory owned by Turkey. Rhodes saw his advantage and changed his tone. Now he could talk plain English, and he dared to offer the Kaiser a free hand in Mesopotamia in return for a free hand in Africa.

The Kaiser was delighted; here was a man who offered him the chance of realising his glittering Oriental dream, and swore that he could deliver the goods. The Kaiser took the bait.

I don't believe there was anything in writing, but each undertook to back the other. Three days later they met again at dinner, and the following day the Telegraph agreement was duly signed. The Kaiser told the British Ambassador that he only wished Mr. Rhodes could be his Prime Minister, as he personally was in favour of the Cape-to-Cairo wire, but that the Reichstag was not Imperial enough. Rhodes came back to England and delivered a great speech eulogising the Kaiser, and he added a codicil to his will by which five yearly scholarships of £250 per annum were established at Oxford for students of German birth, the nomination to be with the Kaiser; moreover, he announced his object to be that an understanding should grow up between America, England and Germany which would render war impossible, "because educational relations make the strongest tie." Rhodes then returned to South Africa and the Boer War began.

All this explains the reference in Prince Lichnowsky's recent revelations to what he calls "the programme of the great Rhodes."

It was a secret treaty made between two men, who merely trusted each other, and the following were the consequences. The Kaiser, on his side, first of all persuaded Queen Wilhelmina of Holland to urge President Kruger to give way to Rhodes' demand for franchise reforms in the Transvaal; he then urged Kruger to accept mediation by America. When Kruger had refused the

Kaiser's advice and war broke out, he proclaimed German neutrality and refused all invitations to join France and Russia against England. He refused to see Kruger when the old President reached Europe, and one of the last letters Mr. Rhodes ever received was from the Kaiser congratulating him on the fact that his telegraph wire had reached Ujiji in Central Africa. It must be admitted that Rhodes did well out of the business.

Meanwhile the Kaiser had called in Mr. Gwinner, the President of the Deutsche Bank, to draft a proposal for the Anatolian Railway Concession in Asia Minor.

A few weeks after the South African War broke out the Kaiser arrived in London with Prince Bulow, and during his visit, on November 27, 1899, the Bagdad Concession was authorised by the Sultan of Turkey; it was signed on the day before the Kaiser left England. The Reichstag doubled the size of the German Navy, but there was no protest from England. Turkey decided to re-arm her fleet, and called for tenders. A British firm tendered £80,000 less than a German tender, but, to everyone's surprise, it was announced that the tenders would be open a second time. The result was the same, but the German tender was accepted. Tenders were asked for the construction of the Bagdad Railway. A British firm was in competition with the Deutsche Bank. The latter was demanding from the Sultan twice the guarantee that was necessary to cover the cost of construction, but the Deutsche Bank got it. To pay the interest, the Sultan found himself obliged to pawn the tithes payable by the Armenian farmers, and Germany thus became the tax-gatherer of Mesopotamia. The Deutsche Bank secured the right to exploit the minerals near the railway, to cut the timber of the forests, to establish trading stations and a number of important trade monopolies. No wonder that Karl Liebnecht was punished for persistently interrupting Reichstag speakers with the words: "What about the Deutsche Bank?"

At last Russia took fright and the Balkan War broke out, but it is clear from Prince Lichnowsky's Memorandum that Germany intended to press her claims against Turkey till just before the present war.

We need not stray into the Balkan quagmire, but it will, I think, be clear that March 11, 1899, when Rhodes saw the Kaiser, was an important date in history.

Now the establishment of a telegraph wire from the Cape to Cairo was a very reasonable thing, and we may ask whether there was any more reasonable way of getting it done?

Here was a work of great international importance, which would admittedly have opened out a rich and almost unpopulated country. Here were laws laid down at Berlin and Brussels, made with the object of developing trade and civilisation in Central Africa. These laws enacted Free Trade in the very territory through which the wire was to pass. They introduced the International Conven-

tion of the Universal Postal Union, revised at Paris in 1878, as a law of Central Africa. Germany had with the other signatories solemnly declared that she was animated by the firm intention of putting an end to the Slave Trade, and that the establishment of telegraph lines was one of the most effective means for accomplishing this end. She was pledged by International Treaty to give aid and protection to commercial undertakings in Central Africa, and yet when it came to the point Rhodes was unable to secure from a country which claimed to occupy German East Africa by virtue of a World Title simply a permit to run a telegraph wire through that country except on terms which in effect have laid the whole world under tribute, and more especially the unfortunate Turks.

### The Remedy: A New Executive.

Will anyone deny that all this might have been saved if the Conference at Berlin had gone further and established an executive charged with considering only international interests instead of omitting to create any body to enforce these interests? Even the International Pope could excommunicate and put countries under interdicts; but Rhodes had no such way, and it is evident that the European Powers were really taking no notice of their international obligations under International Law.

England was by far the best: it really was keen on suppressing the Slave Trade, the liquor traffic, and on maintaining native rights, as the land laws of Nigeria prove; but France, Belgium, and Germany treated their Central African possessions as held by European feudal tenure, whereas the feudal system has not yet been formally accepted by the world as law in Central Africa.

The Berlin Act laid it down that foreigners without distinction should enjoy in Central Africa with regard to the protection of their persons and effects and with regard to the acquisition and transfer of their movable and real property the same treatment and rights as Nationals; at the same time, all the Powers exercising sovereign rights or influence bound themselves to care for the improvement of the conditions of the moral and material well-being of the natives. When Belgium formally annexed the Congo Free State she was supposed to take on her shoulders all the obligations of the International Association of the Congo, but the International Bureau at Brussels was practically a dead letter office, and the solemn laws promulgated by the world in the name of Almighty God were neglected and forgotten. It almost looks as if the old International God were thoroughly angry with us for having thus acted. Prince Bismarck told the Berlin Congo Conference in 1885 that the evils of war would assume a specially fatal character if the natives of Africa were led to take sides in disputes between civilised Powers; yet I am informed that on August 2, 1914, the Germans in German East Africa telegraphed to their military posts ordering the mobilisation of their native troops. A day or two afterwards England bombarded the German

port of Dar-es-Salaam, and these two acts smashed up the neutrality clauses of the Berlin Act providing that Central Africa should remain neutral in case of a European war.

### Spain's Intervention.

Probably neither the German Commander in German East Africa nor our Admiralty knew anything about these laws, but Belgium did, and at once called on the Powers to respect them, and Spain, acting as a neutral signatory of the Berlin Act, took up the question. There were many conversations, but on August 6, 1914, France told Belgium that she wished to get back that part of the Congo which she had to give up during the Agadir incident, and that a success would not be difficult to obtain. On the following day England told Belgium that as German troops had already taken the offensive, England was sending forces to overcome all opposition, at the same time undertaking to prevent any risings of the native population in Belgian Congo.

The Spanish intervention, therefore, failed, and Germany complains that Spain never told her of the Belgian communication, because she would have acted differently had she known of the conversations among the Entente Powers and neutral signatories.

Germany, however, a week later conceived the same idea as Belgium, and approached President Wilson on the subject. The President replied that as the Senate had refused to ratify the Berlin Act, America would not depart from George Washington's doctrine of non-interference with European quarrels.

In the fall of 1915, however, the question came up again, and in the House of Commons Mr. Bonar Law told us that the military position in East Africa was largely one of stalemate, and England admitted the very great desirability of neutralising this region if only it were possible.

America and Holland held conversations on the question, but they came to nought; perhaps at that time Germany was pleased with the stalemate out there. This disappeared under General Smuts's influence, and to-day Central Africa is well nigh cleared of Germans. But it will never be the same as before the war—the influence of the tribal chiefs will disappear, the tribes will split up, the white man's influence will be different, and the missionary will have to battle with new ideas which are surging through the black mind.

Some natives will have seen England, some France; some will notice our strong points, some our shortcomings; and we are to-day faced with new problems as to the introduction of firearms and munitions into Central Africa, the growth of liquor abuse, the danger of tribal wars and the reconstruction of the Government in East Africa.

Now all these questions formed the subject of a lecture by Dr. Solf, the German Colonial Secretary, last December, in which he discussed the suggestion that Central Africa shall be internationalised, and told his audience that England would be the strongest opponent of the proposal. Now I submit that in view of the fact that the Labour party and Trades Union Congress have included this proposal in their published Memorandum of War Aims, which Mr. Lloyd George has accepted, there is clear evidence that Dr. Solf is mistaken, but it is not necessary to wait until the war is over to take action in this matter.

### **The League of Nations should act.**

Here is ready to hand all the machinery for summoning a meeting of the League of Nations to consider the present state of Central Africa. Any signatory of the Berlin Act can do so, but perhaps Spain is the most suitable Power to take the lead, as she took action before. What stands in the way is the fact that England has refused her former approach, and so England must let it be known that such a proposal will be reconsidered.

This is what I desire to persuade our Government to do, and if Mr. Lloyd George can be induced to assure Spain that, in view of the "all clear" signal in Central Africa, England will now reconsider Spain's 1914 proposal, then I see no reason why a World Conference on Central Africa should not meet at once.

President Wilson demands an absolutely impartial adjustment of colonial claims, the interests of the peoples concerned having equal weight with the claims of the Government whose title is to be determined. Here would be the chance of translating these words into practical politics !

Mr. Young, the ex-Secretary of the Lisbon Legation, has told us that a policy of internationalism would save Central Africa from German and other Imperialism, and that we can count on Portugal to contribute her part. Portugal has historic claims to be heard. I have read that Belgium maintains the views she expressed at the outbreak of the war. Let King Albert and M. Vandervelde speak for Belgium !

It is not necessary that Germany or Austria should attend. They would be invited, of course, and the Conference should be convened at a city which they could reach. But the Berlin Act did not depend on Germany, and Central Africa will exist without her; but Dr. Solf's scheme for the development of Tropical Africa on international lines is so detailed that I cannot think he will be happy outside such a Conference. He will have the pleasure of arguing with Trotsky on equal terms.

General Smuts has suggested that the time may be ripe for an African Monroe Doctrine, and the Conference would be the very

place for him to promulgate his doctrine. In 1883 Bismarck lodged a protest against the idea of an African Monroe Doctrine, which, he thought, might have the effect of excluding other Europeans from participating in the African pie.

Now no one that I know has ever dreamed of excluding Europeans from Africa any more than the original doctrine kept Europeans out of America; it recognised the existing dependencies of European Powers, but said that the interposition of Europe in America for the purpose of oppressing or controlling the young Republics of the New World would be to manifest an unfriendly spirit towards the United States, and President Cleveland reformulated the doctrine on the ground that he feared the introduction of European militarism into America. Now Africa is vitally concerned to exclude European militarism from Africa, and I believe that no more favourable moment for the clear examination of such a doctrine will exist than at a Conference of signatories of the Berlin and Brussels Acts, to be summoned forthwith. If we wait till the war ends, one side may suffer a knock-out blow, and concentrate all her thoughts on revenge instead of harmony.

Germany has on several occasions offered to abandon her military policy in Central Africa; so there is a clear basis of agreement. The Conference should amend the present Acts by forming an executive charged with carrying the International Laws into effect, and the Belgian Bureau is the germ of this Executive, which can be developed on the lines of the old Danube Commission.

The natives are in practice represented by missionaries just as Irish villagers regard the Priest as representative. There should be a Board of Trustees (as we already have in Natal), including such people as the Pope, the Chief of Cairo University, the President of Liberia, the South African Minister of Native Affairs, and some suitable American acting under a well drafted Trust Deed.

I think it is important that the Pope should be induced to exercise the remnants of his old international authority solely in the interests of the natives, and in return for this he should cease to recognise the doctrine of conquest, which incidentally has resulted in his losing all his territory.

This appears to me the best possible way of protecting native interests. By such means the natives of South Africa have advanced, so that the whites in Cape Colony have granted them a limited franchise, and one day the Trustees will doubtless advise some such experiment in Central Africa.

In its reply to the Inter-Allied Socialists' War Aims, "Vorwärts" tells us that the restoration of the *status quo ante bellum* on the Western front is the only peace solution it can support, and pleads that the surrender of Alsace-Lorraine to France

would be a victory, not for Entente Socialism, but for Western Imperialism. Let England demonstrate her rejection of Imperialistic designs by accepting the International solution in Africa as a contrast to Germany's action in Russia.

The neutrals would attend and exercise a moderating influence, and Labour would not remain outside, nor allow the procedure of Brest Litovsk.

But best of all would be that the League of Nations would no longer be merely a theory, it would exist.

This is the proposal for which I venture to ask support.

The Temple,

May, 1918.

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